

government that permits, such an unjust and dangerous distribution of the profits of the products of labor.

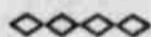
And he asks: Who has done most to breed a class spirit in this country? Who has done most to breed contempt for and defiance of law? Who is seeking to enforce the principle that "vested interests" are superior to human rights? If this country is drifting rapidly toward socialism as the only means to secure "equal and exact justice to all, special privileges to none"—who is responsible for it?

Again he asks: Is there no other punishment than fine—no adequate punishment—for the stock juggler, the stock waterer, the trust highbinder, the trust fund speculator, the criminally negligent trust manufacturer, the corrupter of the public press, the briber of local, state, and national legislatures, and the exploiter of special franchises granted for the public welfare?

He asks, in conclusion: If there is not enough intelligence, moral courage, honesty, manhood, and patriotism in the United States to put an end to special privileges, to corporate corruption and abuse of power, to plundering the people—no matter by what name it is called—and to make all men equal before the law, then is not socialism inevitable and preferable?

Will the present current of reform carry the ship of state safely between the growing demands of organized labor for socialism, and the lawless rapacity of the privileged classes, entrenched behind wealth and politics—until even the humblest citizen can say with truth and with pride: All men are equal before the law?

THORNTON WEST,



THIS LOOKS LIKE SARCASM

The Kansas City Journal, a "rock ribbed" republican newspaper recently reproduced an editorial that appeared originally in the Chicago Inter-Ocean, another "rock ribbed" republican newspaper. The editorial was entitled "Let us Have a Sign from Washington." The republican editor who wrote this editorial and the republican editor who reproduced it are certainly moving rapidly in the direction of that class known as "undesirable citizens." The Inter-Ocean editorial follows:

"The people have heard a great deal of late, from the president personally and through Mr. Taft and others, about the distinction made in Washington between 'good' and 'bad' corporations. They have been repeatedly assured that only the 'bad' corporations had been, or would be, punished by the national government.

"These assurances are satisfactory as far as they go, but they do not go far enough to make the average investor feel easy in his mind. They do not embody any clear rule by which the common man may readily distinguish at sight a 'good' corporation from a 'bad' one, and thus enable him to avoid purchasing an undesired and undesirable interest in a prosecution, a fine, or perhaps a penitentiary sentence.

"Although thus left without definite guidance from the legal and ethical wisdom of Washington, the common man may draw one or two practical conclusions from observed facts of common knowledge.

"The court records inform him that from the viewpoint of Washington the Chicago packing companies are distinctly 'bad' corporations, of which the investor desirous of peace would do well, in the opinion of the White House, to steer clear.

"On the other hand, well known official documents and acts are equally convincing that in the eyes of the national government for the time being the Santa Fe railway is a 'good' corporation, or, at least, was regarded as incapable of wrongdoing while the Hon. Paul Morton was in charge of traffic and rebates.

"Again, from the rejoicings in high official circles over the outcome of a recent legal proceedings, it seems entirely safe to infer that in Washington the Standard Oil company is regarded as a corporation so hopelessly 'bad' that no door of reformation remains open to it.

"And yet again, from the manifest anxiety at Washington to spare the rebater, namely, the Alton, from the punishment meted out to the rebatee, namely the Standard Oil, it must be inferred that the Alton railway, now that Paul Morton's friends—and especially Theodore P. Shonts—have become interested in its destinies, has been purged of any possible iniquity and has become a 'good' corporation.

"From these observed facts something like a general rule may possibly be deduced, or at least a working hypothesis for temporary use.

It would seem to require no argument to demonstrate that any corporation with which E. H. Harriman is connected must be classed at Washington as 'bad,' that any corporation in which the Rockefeller family is interested is almost certainly 'bad,' that any corporation in which James J. Hill is influential must be regarded with suspicion, but that any corporation whose destinies are guided by Paul Morton, or the friends of Paul Morton, is wholly 'good' in the eyes of the national executive.

"Yet, aside from the exigencies of the moment, it is evidently impossible to enact this practice into a statute that will be a steadfast light unto the feet of the common man seeking a safe place for the investment of his earnings and savings. Mr. Harriman might die, and so deprive us of an index to 'bad' corporations. Mr. Morton might die, and leave us temporarily without a signpost to point out the 'good' corporations.

"The monstrous uncertainty of the present situation as regards corporate persons appears as soon as we try to find any principle governing it, except the principle of personal and political discrimination.

"That the average man may use his honestly earned money without fear in the support of useful industry—that he may have peace of mind and in his home—let us have from Washington some definite sign by which to distinguish between 'good' and 'bad' corporations—something more definite than the personal friendships and the personal enmities of the chief magistrate of the United States."



WASHINGTON LETTER

Washington, D. C., September 23.—I talked today with the owner of a very prosperous paper in western Pennsylvania. True it is not a great paper, but a successful one in one of the smaller towns. He told me that the profits of the paper a year ago were \$15,000 over and above his salary as editor and the salary of his brother as business manager. In fact, the paper paid nearly \$25,000. He told me frankly that this year it had dropped to about \$18,000. I asked why it was, thinking that possibly business had fallen off. He said no, that the gross receipts were higher than ever before, but that the increase in the price of print paper, of metal, of every sort of supplies had been so great that it had reduced the net profits far below what they were two years ago.

He is on his way to the meeting of the Associated Press to urge that there should be some concerted action taken to destroy the paper trust. That action must be along the line of the destruction of the privileges now enjoyed by that trust. The mere matter of recommending to the administration that it take action under the anti-trust law amounts to nothing. Only two years ago the International Paper company was theoretically dissolved by law, but today it is operated just as effectively under an evasion of the law.

The way to destroy the paper trust is to abolish the duty on pulp and the duty on the wood of which pulp is made. And at the same time the states in which the paper trust has carefully gathered up all the spruce forests adjacent to water power should tax those forests at their real value and thereby compel the trust to utilize them.

Years ago the effort was made to form a paper trust. The men who attempted to do it, thought by buying all the mills they could accomplish their purpose. They found that as fast as they bought up mills, others were built. Advised by a wise lawyer of New York, the late Thomas G. Shearman, they bought all the spruce forests which were adjacent to water power and to water transportation. That gave them the monopoly they now hold, and which enables them to hold up the newspapers today to a point almost approaching bankruptcy.

The most important political event of the moment is the election held in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory to make of those two territories one state. Congress some eight months ago passed what is known as an enabling act to create the new state of Oklahoma. After the passage of this act, it became necessary for the people of the two territories to elect delegates to a constitutional convention, and then to adopt the constitution recommended by that convention. The convention of delegates was duly created. Nine-tenths of the delegates were democrats. Thereupon all the republican territorial officials, appointed at Washington and unable to control or influence the territories, came rushing here to plead for presidential aid for the holding of their jobs. From Governor Frantz

down to the last appointive official, the whole batch begged for federal influence to maintain them in their positions.

This is what has happened. When the people of the two territories had an opportunity to vote on the constitution, they adopted it, as nearly as may be judged at the present writing, by something more than eighty thousand majority. I qualify this statement because at the moment it is impossible to tell whether it might be somewhat less than eighty thousand, or whether it might not be much more. The telegraph owned by Mr. George Gould and Mr. Clarence Makey seems to be unable to carry promptly the news of the creation of a new state. The time has been when they showed a singular unwillingness to carry any sort of accurate election returns which happened to make for the good of the democratic party.

When admitted as a state Oklahoma will have seven electoral votes. It will have two senators. Who they may be I do not know, but they will both be democrats. In all probability its congressional delegation will be split between the democrats and the republicans. But the public man, whether he be president or the editor of a newspaper, who considers the right of the people of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory to govern themselves under a constitution which they have adopted, merely from the viewpoint of a partisan, is unfit for either position. Whether democratic or republican, Oklahoma deserves statehood. If Mr. Roosevelt shall deny that right of self-government to its people, he will have a very grave action to explain. If in the pleasant places of Oyster Bay he can determine that a constitution which at least eighty thousand more people in the territory involved were willing to adopt, than those who opposed it, does not meet his own individual approval, he may so declare and take the consequences. If the people of the two most progressive communities of the southwest are to be treated like those of Porto Rico and the Philippines, it is for Mr. Roosevelt to so declare. I think it is incredible that he should reach this conclusion.

C. H. Haskell, who is apparently elected governor of the new state, affords in his career an illustration of what the southwest offers in the way of opportunities, to men of ability. Only eight years ago he made a fight for the nomination for governor of Ohio, but failed. Afterwards he sought a congressional nomination unsuccessfully. What his business activities were is not now material. Enough it is to say that he concluded to leave the state which had seen the greater part of his public career, and went to Oklahoma. There he achieved success, both business and political. His rival had back of him all the influence and the power of the president of the United States, but the people stood for the man who represented democracy and have elected him governor. What shall come out of this Oklahoma situation can only be told by those in the confidence of the administration, but no one who believes that the administration is honest, will for a moment think that it will fail to let the people of Oklahoma govern themselves.

It will be worth while to watch the outcome of the election for mayor in Cleveland, Ohio. As a matter of fact, a municipal election in any great city is worth watching because the government of a city touches more nearly the people of that community than does the government of a state or of the United States. But in this particular instance, it is of peculiar interest because of the fact that the rival candidates are men of national reputation and that the republican candidate, Mr. Burton, is openly supported by Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Garfield, of the cabinet. Mr. Roosevelt once said that he did not propose ever to interfere in local politics. He has said many other things which he has failed to live up to, just as he has to that statement. Mr. Burton, his candidate for mayor of Cleveland, a city in which Roosevelt has never lived, boasts of having a letter from the president urging him to run. The last word Taft said as he sailed out of Puget Sound for the Orient was applause for Burton and the assertion that he ought to be elected in order that the city of Cleveland might be brought into touch with the republican party. And finally, the secretary of the interior, Mr. Garfield, informs a world waiting breathlessly upon his words that whatever may be the view of the president upon public officials taking part in local contests, he is going to exert all his effective oratory and all his official influence in behalf of Burton.

In brief, President Roosevelt and his subordinates have made the election of mayor in Cleveland a national affair. The man who is to be elected, if they have their way, is not to

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